20c JUNE 15, 1953

BEYOND THE TRUCE—THE TERMS FOR PEACE

New Republic

STEVENSON IN INDIA

"If the 360 million Indians had had a vote in our last election, there would have been no doubt of the outcome. Sir, you are in solid Democratic territory."

Ambassador George V. Allen

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From Our Readers

Decline of the Executive

● I read Professor Binkley's article (*NR*, May 18) with considerable interest, but with somewhat less agreement. It seems to me that he has permitted himself to lapse into a mood of discouragement at the present aspect of affairs in Washington that is premature, to say the least. We have to remember that not only has a new President come into office—one without political experience—but that a new party has come into power, one which has been out of power for 20 years, and hence has lost that internal consistency and coherence that the exercise of power can alone produce. But that things are gradually shaking down—or shaping up—at the capital and that a coherent leadership centering in the White House will gradually emerge I have the faith—or perhaps I should say, the hope—to believe.

Professor Binkley thinks that the 22nd Amendment was politically motivated. Unquestionably it was as regards his proposal in the first instance. Anything that arrives via the political route is apt to be politically motivated in our democracy, but that does not necessarily discredit it—party politics *can* spell public service. And the speedy adoption of the amendment, in which many Democratic legislatures joined, had more than momentary considerations of party advantage back of it. It registered peoples' resentment at having been hood-winked into re-electing into office in 1944 a very sick man and at the sick man's having left it "to Sidney" to select his running mate.

The fact is that our initial trial of indefinite re-eligibility for the President, of which Professor Binkley is such a convinced advocate, turned out very badly; and the further fact is that a plea for indefinite re-eligibility is virtually a plea for a one-party system. This is so not only because of the immense advantage that a President in office has over potential competitors, but also because of the disintegrating effect that a purely negative role, unduly prolonged, has on an opposition party.

In general, I agree with Professor Binkley, that Congress is less able to form an integrated view of the nation and its needs than the President is, but I think he exaggerates somewhat the President's ability in this respect and especially that of a President who is running for re-election and is hence the prisoner of the record he has already made. I also think that he errs in assuming that it is an invariable characteristic of Presidents to wish to read, and heed, the nation's will. It is certainly the case that labor has long since discovered the advantage of doing business with the White House, and vice versa.

No doubt the Congress needs the President's over-all view; but so does the President need Congress' more detailed mosaic of the national scene. In short, each needs the other—the problem is to bring them together so that legislation may reflect, not Presidential dictation, but something approaching a national consensus. President Eisenhower seems to have left this desideratum out of view in constructing his cabinet. Yet I am not sure that this was unfortunate. "The nine millionaires" may pay their way. Only time can tell.

Princeton, N. J. EDWARD S. CORWIN

Catholics and McCarthy

● Your "Washington Wire" correspondent errs in attempting to tie up the Irish and Catholics with McCarthyism; does not err in tying up Catholicism against Communism. The official and measured position of Catholicism is admirably stated as early as 1891 in *Rerum Novarum*, and more specifically in the encyclical on *Athiestic Communism* 1937, long before certain liberal periodicals in this country which were playing "footsie" with the pseudo-liberal Communists woke up to the facts of life.

We are not bragging about McCarthy. To those who understand the social philosophy of the Church, his reported membership appears an accidental circumstance. Neither do we naïvely attribute to all members of a group, the views held by an inadequate sample, as your correspondent seems to do. Why cite McCarthy when you have the late Sen. Robert Wagner to point to as much better exemplifying Catholic social doctrine which he thoroughly understood?

Atchison, Kans. EDWARD L. HENRY

Ex-Communists

● Mr. Straight writes in *To Our Readers*, "The glory of this nation was once its conviction that every man should change and grow and be accepted for what he is."

Is not also "the forgiveness of sins" still a cardinal tenet of (Judeo-Christian) religion. Or is it now only the exclusive property of psychiatry.

Is the prodigal now to be stoned and hounded the rest of his days for the sins of his youth and the strayed sheep left on "the mountain wild and bare?"

Are there not many readers who might say, too, that "there but for the grace of the *New Republic* might go I" and be the last to cast the stone.

Tacoma, Wash. HERBERT HARTLEY

(Continued on page 4)

To Our Readers

● Professor Edward Henry takes up the issue of McCarthyism and Catholicism in our letters column this week. It is an issue that benefits from open discussion.

I, for one, am tired of being told that reason cannot combat unreason in this nation because McCarthy represents the fear, guilt and hysteria that possess all Americans. They are possessed by no such unworthy emotions. They feel insecure, and rightly, and McCarthy exploits this insecurity with his revolutionary characteristic of total cynicism. But four out of five Americans keep their good judgment and common sense. Very rarely do any of us meet a McCarthy enthusiast. Even the crowd that gathered in the shadow of the Tribune Tower to sponsor McCarthy's broadcasts last year were a mediocre lot. An April Gallup Poll confirms that just 19 percent of Americans favor McCarthy, and no more than 21 percent believe that he has done more good than harm.

McCarthy's strength is simply that when the political scales are evenly balanced, as they are today, a 19-percent minority, solid, determined, and spread over 11 critical states, can swing a national election. That fact, and not the supposed neurosis that possesses all of us, accounts for McCarthy's inflated powers of political blackmail.

Who makes up this minority? It is not a Catholic bloc. *Commonweal* is outspoken in opposing McCarthy. So are the Jesuit fathers who publish *America*. Notre Dame provided the platform for Kennan's magnificent address. McCarthyism, as Professor Henry points out, is not representative of Catholic thought. Yet the fact remains, of concern to liberal Catholics and those like ourselves who repudiate anti-Catholicism, that the states in which McCarthy may hold the balance of political power are those where Catholic voters are concentrated. Father Curran claims that McCarthy is a good Catholic. When will his superiors declare him wrong and lead us in this fight? The hierarchy took its stand against prohibition and crime. Is McCarthyism less grave a threat?

* * * *

Our critics are flourishing. Eric Bentley won the American Academy of Arts and Letters award for drama criticism and his book, *In Search of Theatre*, is the new Readers' Subscription selection. Herbert Read, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, has been chosen for Harvard's Charles Eliot Norton lectureship and the National Gallery's Mellon lectures.

M. S.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IKE HATES press conferences. This is an important fact because they are an accepted instrumentality in our government. In Britain, Parliament questions the Executive; in Washington reporters perform the quasi-official function. It is a vital aspect of democracy.

Usually a man likes to do what he is good at. Ike is excellent at handling press conferences, but they irk him. Why? First, we guess, because he feels at a disadvantage with 100 keen reporters. Ike doesn't rise early to read the papers as Truman did; he is briefed on the day's news in capsule summaries (the dullest of all ways to find out what is going on). At his latest press conference he exposed that he knew nothing of the Senate Appropriations Committee "rider" directed against the UN, though it had been voted 24 hours before. It showed Ike seriously under-informed. Secondly, we imagine that after being a soldier and "telling" the press all his life, he instinctively resents being cross-examined now. Again let us report that Ike does a fine, candid job when he knows the facts.

All this adds up to only 10 press conferences since taking office, 22 weeks ago. He cancelled last week's again and is away this week on his Midwest trip. That brings the score to 10 in 24 weeks. By contrast, FDR saw the press twice a week: he would have held 48 conferences by this time. Truman saw the press weekly. Ike's press-shy Cabinet is even more elusive than he is. Under FDR and Truman (and Hoover for that matter) Cabinet members saw the press regularly once a week. Up on the Hill, meanwhile, Taft sees the press two or three times a day. It is he with other members of Congress who gets the ear of the people in the never-ending White House legislative tug-of-war.

To remedy this Ike put on his unique "family-party" TV show last week. It was folksy-wolksy, not to say palsy-walsy. Ike's attractive personality projected warmly from the screen, and millions could sense that he is a decent, well-intentioned man, doing his best. That feeling elected him. But is it enough now? There was a novelty in watching a President acting as master-of-ceremonies under the tutelage of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne but the thought-content was low, and it was discouraging to feel that this represented Ike's estimate of the public.

Reporters, of course, watched enviously. When Ike benignly made the staggering generalization, "there's going to be no risk of general war," reporters reflected that—at a press conference—they could have blandly asked, "Why not?" When Humphrey promised that the budget will be "well-balanced out" by next June, they could have ejaculated, "How?" (Actually, we are now certain the Administration will ask for a manufacturers' sales tax next winter, one that will increase, not reduce, consumer costs.) Ike waved away farm surpluses simply by saying they should be fed to the world's starving. If any reporter had strayed on to the White House TV lot to ask "How?" at this point, he would have sadly upset the Papa-knows-best mood.

The government has spent $12 billion to prepare for commercial use of atomic energy and should soon be ready to hand it over, on a platter, to private business. Not to do so would, of course, be "Socialism." But while following the right and proper course here, we fear government is dealing a catastrophic blow elsewhere. The new atomic "breeder" will produce more fissionable material than is fed into it. Then what becomes of all the aphorisms on which civilization is based, about eating cake and having it too?

The atomic "breeder" is, actually, breath-taking. If you haven't grasped

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it yet, it probably means that as much potential new fuel has been added to the world, for a starter, as all the existing coal and oil combined! Its possibilities are so vast that it really isn't worth speculating about them yet. Let's let the thing sink in first.

With Korean truce now likely Britain is pushing steadily for a Big Four conference. Britain is in a first-rate position to take world initiative because America is crippled by suspicious Congressmen trying to usurp executive authority. They are all at it again on the Korean truce. Ike has bought time by his proposed Big Three conference at Bermuda, but ultimately it looks as though Churchill's steady pressure would bring Russia in, too, or else leave the USA in an impossible position of fearing to take a chance to win world peace.

Truce in Korea will bring a next-to-irresistible demand to demobilize. We've been listening to retiring Air Chief Vandenberg's fierce warnings. Nobody has yet been able to answer him. Ike promised tax cuts in the election, and now, somehow, he's got to deliver. The feeling grows that the Administration is being disingenuous. On May 19 Ike declared flatly, "We did not have any fixed sum of money to which our defense plans had been fitted." But then a letter was revealed from Budget Director Dodge to Secretary Wilson, dated May 7, telling Wilson that Ike's budget objectives "require you" to hold expenses "to a level of about $43.2 billion in the fiscal year 1954." It looks as though economy were being put ahead of security, and, frankly, it scares us.

How many times at the start of Ike's Administration people said that businessmen were taking over, and that if business didn't make a success now it would never have the chance again. And what do the headlines tell us? The US Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers are fighting Eisenhower tooth-and-nail because he wants to continue the excess-profits tax on corporations, for a brief six months. The beauty about big business is that it's always consistent. It's out for itself and against the President—any President.

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 2)

Burke and Paine

● I am appalled by the letter of Mr. Victor S. Yarros in your April 20 issue. If there is anything that we have learned in this incredible twentieth century, it is that Edmund Burke, that magnificent student of political realities, is anything but "irrelevant, immaterial, and obsolete." I do not know myself whether I am what Mr. Yarros would call a "liberal," although I can say that I am as perfect a Stevensonian as one might wish to meet. As such, I deny absolutely that liberals prefer Paine to Burke or that Paine "demolished" the Burkean philosophy. I suggest that Mr. Yarros reread with care and honesty Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* and then decide whether he would like to continue in so absolute a position of depreciation.

Ithaca, N. Y. CLINTON ROSSITER

A. D. A.

● The Americans for Democratic Action have just concluded their sixth national convention in Washington, D. C. The threat of McCarthyism, the failures of the Eisenhower Administration, and positive plans for future action were effectively brought out by many of the nation's foremost liberals. . . .

May I take the liberty of mentioning some of the activities here in Newark and Essex County to illustrate the importance of what ADA can do locally. We were in the very forefront of a strenuous fight to change an inefficient and corrupt city commission form of government in Newark. In a hectic race against time, we helped gather 25,000 signatures on a petition for a charter study referendum which was placed on the ballot and passed by an overwhelming majority. Our county chapter organized a motorcade to the state capital at Trenton which protested the lack of a New Jersey rent control law. Front-page publicity for three days brought the story to thousands of rent payers and it now appears likely that a satisfactory bill will be forthcoming. We campaigned vigorously for an unknown, Robert Meyner, in the Democratic gubernatorial primary and probably played a decisive part in his 1,500-vote edge over the candidate favored by the politicians.

My point in writing this letter is not to pat ourselves on the back. It is to practically implore that all people who appreciate the work of ADA, join up, even if they cannot be active. . . .

Newark, N. J. MAURICE A. BERLINRUT

The NR

● Don't think, for a moment, that *all* Californians are so conditioned by our constant exposure to the glamor and glitter of the cinema that we think that your quiet and distinguished form is "drab and unobtrusive."

Especially now. When the venerable *Atlantic Monthly* has left off its beloved orange cover for a shiny front—and the staid *Harper's* scatters among its serious articles the silliest cartoons! Even the *Reporter* defies its high purpose by adding grotesque caricatures of our statesmen to the excellent reports of their policies. Your slim elegance brings the most adult thinking that we get.

When the *New Republic* comes, I mean to read only T.R.B. at first, but before I put it down, I find I am at least half way through. . . .

Los Angeles, Calif. MRS. E. B. SMITH

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the article by A. Powell Davies on "The Bewitchment of Rebecca West" in last week's issue the following lines should have been printed in brackets as an editorial comment: "There is no evidence whatever, for example, to support her assertion that the Communists shot Walter Reuther. Neither he nor the FBI believe that. Nor is there any proof to justify labeling Lawrence Duggan's death a Communist's suicide."

Bandwagon

Coffee is not a food; it is only a temporary stimulant at best. The present growing habit of many office employees to demand a cup of coffee in the middle of the morning not only increases the price of coffee for everyone, but by reducing efficiency, is helping to bring on a business depression. — *From Babson on Business in the* Kingston Freeman.

* * *

. . . the President is allowed to eat little of the thousands of turkeys, prize fruits and other food delicacies showered on the White House family. The Secret Service won't let him risk a possible plot on his life. Most of the gifts are hustled off to hospitals and charitable institutions. — *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

* * *

MR. BURDICK: Mr. Speaker, the Queen of England is crowned. . . .

It beats all what a commotion can be caused by this crowning business. You do not hear anything about the inauguration of the Governor of Texas, although Texas is three times the size of England. — *From the* Congressional Record.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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AFTER THE TRUCE — THE TERMS FOR PEACE

AT LAST the Communists have accepted the UN terms in the prisoner-of-war agreement. The opposition of Syngman Rhee is not to the agreement, but to an armistice which accepts the continued division of Korea. Here he exceeds the purposes of the United Nations. If, despite Rhee, the truce is won, then in the true sense of the best end attainable, it will be a victory for the UN. The war aim of the United Nations is achieved. The valor of its soldiers is vindicated. The safety of its prisoners is protected. The wisdom of its negotiators who refused for two years to retreat on principle or to abandon the negotiations, is confirmed. The longest truce talks in history have taught us again that the Communist nations share common ground with us in opposing warfare in which no military decision can be reached. Those who believe that we should have pressed for a decision are met with General Eisenhower's assertion: "We do not intend to employ war as an instrument to accomplish the world-wide political settlements to which we are dedicated and which we believe to be just."

* * * *

This nation found and kept the courage demanded for a war fought far away and for a principle. Now a different kind of courage is demanded of us in asking what are the principles that we fought for? Confronted as we are, by a political conference for a Pacific settlement, it is no longer enough to answer: "We fought for the United Nations, and for peace." The question becomes what kind of UN, and what peace is the UN to enforce?

On these questions the United Nations today is divided.

The Asian nations have struggled for centuries against the military power of the West. They fear today involvement in wars beyond their own frontiers. So naturally they emphasize the sections of the UN charter which deal with mediation rather than collective security. And accordingly they believe that the United Nations must be a universal organization representative of all nations. They believe further, that the only peace worth enforcing is one in which Asia is free from colonial rule.

These basic views led the Indian Government to propose that the UN Assembly accept the Communists in place of the Nationalists as the government of China. The United States did not oppose this resolution on its merits. "My government," Warren Austin told the UN in April, 1950, "does feel strongly that the question of Chinese representation should be considered separately on its merit at another time." Only after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War, did Secretary Acheson declare that the US would seek to frustrate the will of the majority of the UN should the majority vote to seat the Communist government. His position was untenable since the Assembly has the plain right and duty to accept or amend the recommendations of its own Credentials Committee. But it reflected the decision of an aroused and angry nation to shut its mind to debate.

Now once more, debate of the most searching nature is necessary to determine where our national interest lies. It was to foreclose all debate that the China Lobby in the Senate brought in its rider on the 1954 appropriations bill. The rider would have cut off all funds from the UN on the day it seated the government that rules China. The President, to his credit, softened its terms in the Senate resolution. It was passed by 76 to 0. This vote may now be contrasted with the vote of the United Nations Assembly on the Indian resolution to seat the Chinese Communists. The Assembly defeated the Indian resolution by 33 to 16 with 10 abstentions. But of the 33 majority votes, 17 were cast by Latin American republics. Only Belgium, Greece and Luxembourg in all Europe, and only Thailand and the Philippines among Asian nations, supported the position held by the United States. Britain, Burma, Pakistan, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian nations and Yugoslavia all supported the Indian resolution—France, Canada and five Middle Eastern nations abstained.

The rift exposed by these two votes is deep and wide. If we permit it to widen further it can undo our costly achievements in Korea and take the world past the point of no return on the road to war.

There is no disputing the China Lobby's first assumption that the Chinese Communist regime is despotic and arrogant. Nor is there any doubt that the consolidation and expansion of the regime, in its present mood, threatens the United States. It is proper to argue in reply to the Indian case, that the United Nations does impose on its members the obligations of collective security and that this forbids the UN to admit aggressive regimes. It is proper to add that if Chiang Kai-shek lacks the power to fulfill the obligations of the Charter, as India asserts, then Mao Tse-tung may lack the will.

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These reservations may suggest opposition to unconditional recognition of the Communist government. They do not dictate unconditional warfare against China. But that is the policy which the China Lobby wants now to fasten on the United States. The policy is to harass and to tease the regime, as a child might poke at a cobra, and to place it in solitary confinement—the treatment we find so outrageous when it is practiced against our citizens.

But this is no policy. For the pressures that we can apply against China are peripheral short of bombing, and to the extent that we succeed in isolating China, we assure its subordination to the Kremlin.

For years liberal pressure blocked recognition of Franco and Spain's entry into the United Nations. That pressure enabled Franco to consolidate the nationalist sentiment of Spaniards behind his regime. Chinese nationalism is as intense as that of Spain, and more resurgent. The Chinese peasant is not so desperately anxious to appear at the UN as to overthrow the regime that the US declares stands in his way. But if the regime can persuade the peasant that the US scorns his nationality and forbids him the place in the world that is rightfully his, then his loyalty to the regime may be won.

We may guess about this reaction of Chinese nationalism. The rulers of Burma, India, Pakistan and Indonesia affirm it with the intense conviction of men who have smarted under the same whiplash of humiliation by the West. They will join the West, as independent and peaceloving members of the world organization, when the issue is of resistance to Communist expansion. But they will respond as Asians, rather than as anti-Communists, to a denial, by the West, of what they regard as China's legitimate claims. The same men who suspect that we reserved the atom bomb for the colored Japanese, will not respect US intransigence on China as an expression of militant opposition to Communism. They will fear and despise it, as evidence of an arrogant and imperial attitude that white America holds for colored Asia. Faced with blind intransigence by the US in the UN, the Asian nations will slowly, silently, and irretrievably line up with China in a Communist-led struggle against the West.

For this reason the United States cannot afford the luxury of pure negation on the issue of China at the UN. In turn, if we show understanding, our allies will not press for the seating of the Communist Government without declaring the conditions under which that major step can lead toward peace. It is after all unreasonable to suppose that the UN can accept a nation which has warred against it, before the terms of the peace are determined which the UN is then called on to enforce.

These terms concern first the future of Korea. The UN will betray its own victory if it fails to provide guarantees of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Korea as it exists today. It may in return (as Eisenhower wrote to Syngman Rhee) provide assurances against any effort by the Republic to unify Korea by military means. Until the Chinese Communists are ready to underwrite these basic terms of peace, they have no place in the UN.

How much further does the peace settlement of the Korean War extend? The US may demand separate assurances from the Chinese on Indo-China. But we can hardly expect the United Nations to stake its conduct toward China on the outcome of a colonial struggle in which the French refuse to admit that the UN has any interests or rights. If the Indo-China war is to be placed on the UN peace agenda, then it should first be brought before the UN, to be settled on its terms.

In Formosa, it is the United States which has acted outside the UN. The Chinese Communists are not going to abandon their claims to Formosa. And while present tensions continue, the US in turn is not going to let Formosa fall into Communist hands. There is no bridge across this river, and yet similar conflicts have not prevented the US and Russia from participating together in the UN. The conflict we suggest can be made manageable by these steps:

First, the United States should withdraw by easy stages just as we withdrew from recognition of the Vichy regime as the government of France.

Second, the United States can declare that it will not permit Formosa to be governed by any regime subordinate to Moscow.

Third, we can extend to Chiang de facto recognition as the ruler of the territory which he governs.

In this way, leaving open the question of China's representation at the UN, we can set the conditions for its realization which other free nations will accept as reasonable and constructive. If we are willing to negotiate the underlying issue, the rearmament of Japan, then we may win a real accommodation with Russia and China in the Pacific. But if we cannot reach a settlement with our enemies we can at least prevent an open and disastrous break with our friends.

This is the responsibility that confronts Eisenhower during the next 90 days. They should be days in which a bold discussion of fundamentals clarifies our concept of the UN, and our purposes in the Pacific. If Eisenhower mumbles and fumbles the China Lobby will pump into the empty spaces of policy its own line of selfishness and negation. But if Eisenhower speaks out in the course of his Western tour, he will find a readiness among Americans to think anew on the basic conditions of peace.

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THE WEEK

HARD MONEY TAKES EFFECT

The Treasury's "hard money" policy continues to take its toll. Government securities are selling below par and are still declining. The major investment and banking interests have clearly indicated that they do not consider the 30-percent increase in interest rates on government bonds enough and are ready to hold out for a further increase.

The "hard money" program which Treasury Secretary George Humphrey is promoting provides that securities be left subject to the open market, permitting the major banking and investment groups to hold off on purchases until the Treasury makes the offer sufficiently attractive to them. This is seen particularly in the government guaranteed and insured home-loans market. For years mortgage bankers have been saying that if they were allowed a one-quarter or one-half of one-percent increase in interest rates on Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration loans they would be willing to supply the money. The rates were upped one month ago. What happened? Still no money.

The continued refusal to increase the supply of FHA and VA loan money has even alarmed Brown L. Whatley, president of the Mortgage Bankers Association, who has warned bankers that Congress will, once again, provide for direct loans to satisfy the demand for mortgage funds if they do not open up credit.

"As representatives of free enterprise," he said, "and as custodians of the nation's thrift funds, we cannot lose sight of the fact that there is something more at stake than the question of a yield alone, as important as that may be. . . . If we want to remain free of government controls and interference, we must start now and learn fast to lean less on government and depend more on ourselves."

Investors in government securities, are not only losing money with the steady decline of the market but unsettled market conditions are causing them to abandon, postpone or cancel plans to underwrite business expansion. The cash losses have reached billions of dollars. After 2.5 percent bonds dropped to a startling 89 7/8 and other issues hit new lows the Federal Reserve Board quietly stepped in to make purchases in an effort to give the market a breather.

The New York *Journal of Commerce* editorialized that this would not bring a stable market. "Dogmas to the contrary notwithstanding," the *Journal* asked for an end to this "doctrinaire central banking" and called for substantial support of the bond market. The *Journal's* alarm may stem partly from the fact that among financial houses refusing to underwrite business expansion at this time are such substantial firms as Dillon Reed, Lehman Brothers and Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

REBUILDING THE TARIFF WALL

The President began to lose his "fight" for a realistic trade policy when he requested a simple one-year extension of the already hamstrung Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Now the strongest and best co-ordinated high-tariff lobby to hit Washington in a decade has won another crucial battle, and by the simplest of tactics.

Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R, Pa.) countered the President's modest request with a bill which, in the words of an Administration spokesman, "would tear the vitals out of the present . . . Act." Once he had the Administration thoroughly worried and frightened, Representative Simpson offered to split his original bill into two bills, the first of which would extend the Act while changing it only slightly. So the President retreated and agreed to support this bill which would change the Tariff Commission from a non-partisan to a partisan body by increasing it from six to seven members, four of whom may be from the same political party. The argument that this increase will prevent a tie decision is specious. In the 21 complete investigations made under escape clause procedure, every recommendation of the Commission has been by unanimous or majority vote.

The Tariff Commission was established in 1916 to provide the Congress and the President with non-partisan fact-finding assistance in tariff making. It has retained that character for nearly 40 years. A partisan "fact-finding" commission could undermine the entire concept of Reciprocal Trade through the abuse of "peril-point" provisions and escape clauses, and by subjecting trade policy to a major modification with each change of administration. Already there is a promise that future appointees to the Commission will be more "protectionist minded" than has been the case.

The President's retreat assures passage of the first Simpson Bill. But the protectionist drive doesn't stop there. Once the first bill has established a partisan Trade Commission, Simpson has a second bill ready which makes the recommendations of the Trade Commission binding upon the President. The President has always had the power to weigh Commission recommendations against domestic and international factors beyond the Commission's consideration, and thus arrive at an independent finding. But under Simpson's second bill, trade policy will no longer be formulated by the President to whom it is an indispensable diplomatic tool and who can shape it to fit the entire world situation. It will be determined by a partisan, appointed body upon which the public has only the most indirect influence and which will base its decisions on a narrow base of information supplied by special pleaders.

And the President has already temporarily surrendered his power to fashion trade policy. Representative Simpson boasts that in return for withdrawal of the original bludgeon-bill, the President promised to make no more trade agreements for one year. This at a time when the Communist nations are preaching economic independence to Western nations and backing up their words with

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attractive trade offers involving exactly those items most affected by US trade barriers. Trade agreements, even the lukewarm ones still possible under a mutilated act, are the means to counter this latest Communist gambit. But we will make none for a year.

Consequently if the protectionist lobby cannot push the second Simpson Bill or its substance through Congress this session, they will have at least one year in which to win converts, a year during which they will benefit from the decisions of a partisan Tariff Commission. And they may have longer. Theoretically, one year of stagnation on the trade front will allow a special Presidential commission to study our entire foreign economic program. But Representative Simpson has been careful to devote three pages of his "compromise" bill to specifying what that commission must do, and those specifications cannot be adequately met in one year. Whatever the final outcome of the protectionist drive, then, the already disheartening economic dilemma of the Western alliance will be worsened.

McCARTHY'S ANGELS

Joe McCarthy's frequent visits to Texas as the house guest of oil millionaires in Houston and Dallas point to the possibility that a campaign chest may already be filling up to support McCarthy's part in the 1954 and 1956 elections. McCarthy's most recent visit was to Dallas oil millionaire Clint Murchison at his "fabulous island retreat" near Tampico, Mexico. As a political "angel" Murchison could be of substantial assistance. *Fortune* magazine recently reported that assets of 41 companies wholly-owned or controlled by Murchison, or in which he has a substantial interest, total more than $281 million. These include life insurance, chemical, transit, publishing and shipping companies as well as banks. The sum does not include his cattle, oil, real estate and other private investments.

Among McCarthy's Texan friends is another whose wealth is estimated at twice that of Murchison—Dallas oil man H. L. Hunt, whose recent interest in public affairs has led him to sponsor "non-partisan" forum programs on radio and TV which he plans to extend over large networks throughout the country in the next year.

PLEASE PASS "THE BAD LAW"

"I think the excess-profits tax, in principle, is a bad law. I think it introduces all sorts of activities that are not to the best interest of the country."

With these words Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey encouraged the Senate Finance Committee to continue the EPT on the books for six additional months after its scheduled expiration June 30. There were two reasons why the Administration, despite its distaste for the tax, had finally decided it was necessary:

The $800 million it would yield was essential in the drive to balance the budget, and

It would be political suicide to allow the tax to end and corporations to benefit while individual income-tax payers were getting no relief. The EPT affects 50,000 taxpayers while 50 million pay income taxes.

Secretary Humphrey was convincing —at least to a section of his party. Senate Majority Leader Taft and House Speaker Joe Martin supported him. And for a while Humphrey gave the impression that both the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce would rise to a higher interest and accept the extension. They didn't, however; spokesmen for the two groups were very caustic in their opposition.

In the House, Rep. Daniel Reed (R, N.Y.), chairman of the key Ways and Means Committee and leader of the cut-the-taxes-now school, was moved to repeat his open opposition to the EPT extension. Meanwhile, Democrats in both houses, still chagrined over Eisenhower's recent attacks on their party, seemed inclined to sit back and let the Republicans slug this out among themselves.

No one is arguing that the EPT is a good tax. It is filled with loopholes which benefit some businesses at the expense of their competitors. An increased corporation tax would be more equitable, but the NAM and the C of C seem more interested in full relief than full equitability.

The Administration's prospects for victory on the tax issue are not enhanced by the prospect of peace in Korea. If peace comes, Reed and his cohorts would not only oppose the EPT extension but would probably insist on passing HR 1, Reed's bill for an 11 percent across-the-board individual income tax cut on June 30.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that "a perfect example of the success of the anti-economy drive" is furnished by Sen. Karl Mundt (R, S.Dak.) and the curious case of Oahe Dam. The $8.2 million appropriation for Oahe, recommended by Truman, had been eliminated by Budget Bureau Director Dodge. The dam was restored to the Budget after the Senator's wife did some high-powered lobbying at a dinner party.

Sitting next to Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, Mrs. Mundt complained that "Karl is in sackcloth and ashes because your fellow Michigander, Mr. Dodge, failed to recommend budget funds for Oahe." Mr. Summerfield gallantly told Mrs. Mundt he would take the matter up personally with Dodge. And, presto, $8.2 million for Oahe went back into the budget.

Later Senator Mundt, in a weekly report to his home state, enthusiastically proclaimed "Oahe is paid for!" He told his constituents that when he conferred with Dodge, "I made him only one promise—namely, that as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee I would try to find ways and means of cutting the over-all appropriation of the government sufficiently so that this additional eight and a quarter million would not upset calculations." He fulfilled his promise when the committee took up the appropriation for the State Department. Said Senator Mundt:

> On motions made by me, $8 million was cut from the funds approved for State Department personnel . . . and another $300,000 was taken from the travel allowance for State Department functions. Thus Oahe can go forward without the American taxpayer slipping backward!

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THE ART OF PEACEMAKING

THE CROWNING of a British sovereign is an event traditionally above and beyond politics. It is quite plain here on British soil, however, that the gala period of classless social festivity following the ceremonies of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II is also one of vigorous British political reassertion—of national independence, of all-party unity in foreign policy, of leadership of the Commonwealth, and of initiative on a world scale.

The style of the Queen's title is, despite Scottish nationalists, Elizabeth the Second. And that "II" is particularly meaningful for a people whose supreme national value is continuity in independence and freedom. There was not a trace of real antagonism to the US in Sir Winston's House of Commons speech. If there is a deep reason for the misunderstanding that caused the short-lived tumult in Anglo-US relations it is the difference between this affection for the old, the lasting and the permanent in personal, family and national affairs, and America's drive toward change—for the better, of course—in all things.

Continuity means compromise—and, even more important, the ability to reconcile the opinion of a people and nation to acceptance of a second-best solution. The London *Observer* says that the British suddenly, after a long lapse, seem to have rediscovered their talents in an art in which they excelled for centuries—in peacemaking. The *Observer* writes:

> At this fateful and hopeful moment Britain must play her independent role, of which nobody can relieve her. As in 1939 and 1945, we must have confidence that America will recognize a new world situation and respond to it in her own good time, and that the understanding and brotherhood of the great English-speaking democratic nations will in the end be restored by the logic of events.

But why Britain as the leader? Why not the US? The newspaper explains:

> It is clear that the present American Government does not enjoy the same mobility in international action as ours does It is not, as the British Government is, backed by a united nation: it does not speak with one voice; and it is laboring under constitutional, political and psychological handicaps which must be respected as part of the situation with which we have to deal.

Other British journals have gone further in spelling out these presumed handicaps. It is said that General Eisenhower is forced by the illogic of domestic political events to give a higher priority to the task of achieving unity within the Republican Party than to forging the unity of the free world and to giving it US leadership. And, as for freedom, the British in their present mood come close to believing that they alone can give such leadership because they alone, of the great nations, have true freedom.

They do not deny that the French have a large measure of personal and political freedom. But lacking social discipline and the psychological cements of political unity, French freedom tends to degenerate into license on the political level and into national confusion veering toward either anarchy or paralysis. Nor do the British contest that the Americans have freedom. On the contrary, they consider the American people's democracy the most authentic, the most real on earth. On the other hand, however, the Americans are seen to be imposing new social constraints upon themselves. A tyranny of society dictated by irrational minorities, and against which sensible men dare not seriously protest, let alone rebel, seems to be breeding intolerance and an atmosphere of fear at home; while abroad, it saps the courage to resume true diplomatic mobility and to think relatively in terms of various legitimate interests to be reconciled on the best possible terms, rather than absolutely in terms of black enemies and grey allies.

And if continuity means compromise, then compromise means the willingness to accept less than victory on a national scale and less than success on a personal level.

By US standards, all this is obviously not the road to personal contentment. But, by world standards—by those of the world of Georgi Malenkov's Red Army and Air Force rather than those of the world of the Spanish Armada—it is not the road to national power for Britain or any other nation. The British answer—the British claim for its right to guidance "at this fateful and hopeful moment" in world history—is that compromise is the only possible course because any further drive to power by themselves, by the Americans or the Russians must lead to annihilatory disaster for everyone.

It is by invoking the historical past that the British support their belief that a real change may have taken place in Russia, and that the Soviet power drive has slowed down, if not halted. The death of Stalin may have done what the deaths of several Czars did in the past.

Moreover, the basis of Sir Winston's remark that the greatest change may be taking place *inside* Russia and the satellites rather than in their foreign relations, is a succession of British intelligence reports. These suggest that, in China, the trend is away from revolution toward long-term industrialization; and, in Russia, from aggressive expansionism toward realistic survivalism. Paradoxical as it may seem, these experts in Soviet affairs say that the reluctance of the Kremlin's new masters to furnish the "deeds" for which the US is asking is a good, rather than a bad, sign. The tendency toward hard bargaining is encouraging. If the Russians yielded quickly and easily, it would mean that they were aiming at nothing more than power advantages; and, having got them, would remain.

London

FRANK GORRELL

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"SIR, YOU ARE IN SOLID DEMOCRATIC TERRITORY!"

by Oliver Pirie

"IDLI" IS THE NAME South Indians give to the steamed rice-powder cake that forms their favorite breakfast dish. And "Idli" was, naturally, the name they bestowed on their favorite visitor from America. They greeted Stevenson with garlands and he, in turn, split many a fresh coconut with them in the name of One World.

Of the coconuts of Kerala and the dark beauties of matriarchal Malabar even Baudelaire has sung. But it was left to Stevenson to declare:

"My visit to Travancore-Cochin has fulfilled a life-long desire and ambition to see the Malabar coast. Here I found the most luxurious and beautiful fragments of the entire globe, inhabited by a proud, industrious and ancient people."

The only aspect of Stevenson's visit that the proud, industrious and ancient people regretted was its shortness. He passed through Hyderabad on the Deccan plateau on May 7, spent a day in Madras on the East coast, flew over to Trivandrum, near the southern tip of India and was back in Bombay on May 10.

Among these crowded hours, those spent in Madras were perhaps the least dramatic. There Stevenson met with the old master of Indian politics—"C. R." Rajagopalachari. "C. R.", the first and last Indian Governor-General of the subcontinent and now chief minister of embattled Madras, is the most enigmatic personality in modern Indian history. Stevenson, in turn, had his own reasons to keep their conversations from the press. It was learned, however, that they discussed everything from the dates of Indian forts to Stevenson's favorite subject of the relations between the federal government and the states. With some curiosity the master politician inquired how the incumbent party in the United States had permitted itself such a defeat.

For Stevenson, Trivandrum was a triumph. The city itself is so tightly integrated that the word spreads like wildfire, and thousands of people can line the narrow streets. The tension and excitement was greater because the entire state of Travancore-Cochin was in the midst of the *panchayat*, or village board elections. The state is highly literate and Christianized, and yet the Communist Party did well there, working through a united front.

Into this charged atmosphere, Stevenson arrived Coconuts and *kum kum* (vermilion) constitute the highest form of welcome in South India. And while religious scruple forbade the daubing of Stevenson with *kum kum*, he was laden with garlands. Then the coconuts were split, in Trivandrum's hearty welcome, and Stevenson shared their cool sweet milk with a tremendous crowd drawn from Indians of every status.

The mayor of Trivandrum is a Socialist, and since the Socialists feud with the Congress Party, the Congress state ministers did not attend. But the Communists came to watch, and to heckle. They fared poorly. For the mayor welcomed Stevenson warmly, telling him that he was in a free country, as free as the United States if not as prosperous. With the aid of friendly countries like the United States, the mayor added, his nation was carrying through a program of development that would lead to India's Golden Age. Concluding with a sharp jab at his opponents of the Left and the Right, the mayor told Stevenson: "You have set an example of the ideal way in which an election should be conducted. I hope our leaders, and especially our ministers, will follow your example."

If Stevenson was startled by their knowledge of the United States he showed no signs of it. He turned the mayor's appeal for peace into an assertion that India's goal, like America's, was not peace alone but peace with freedom. And, remarking on the mayor's welcome "on behalf of the common people of Travancore-Cochin," Stevenson answered laughingly, "We of the Democratic Party also speak for the common people back home, and I have great pleasure in making all you good people of Trivandrum honorary members of the Democratic Party!"

At this the crowd roared with enthusiasm and laughter, and the photographers took advantage of the pause to set off their flash bulbs. One of them exploded in Stevenson's face. "I'm still alive," he noted, "but I don't know about your mayor." This fragment, unique to a people accustomed to stiff formality, completed Stevenson's conquest of Trivandrum. The local Communist Party leader was heard remarking to his comrades, "Dash it all! First we had Bowles to contend with; then Mrs. Roosevelt had to come here—now we have Stevenson. And they're all so dashed human and attractive that it undoes months of propaganda on our part!"

In the evening colorful scenes from the epic dance-drama *Ramayana* were staged for Stevenson. In this drama Hanuman, the monkey god, lies in the forest posing as an old decrepit ape while Bhima, the hero wanders in the wood looking for flowers. The monkey

"Oliver Pirie" represents five journalists who followed Stevenson in his Indian travels and whose collective efforts and separate reports are combined in this article.

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groaned to show his decrepitude, and Stevenson also groaned. When Hanuman sprang up in full regalia to reveal himself and destroy the demons, Stevenson also jumped. When Bhima shivered with fright at the sight of the great Hanuman, so did Stevenson. Word of this informality and good humor spread throughout the town, and by the next morning Stevenson was a popular hero. The local newspapers were full of his exploits of the night before, and wherever he went huge crowds watched him with wide eyes.

With the leaders of Travancore, Socialist and Congress Party, Stevenson discussed the central threat arising from the economic misery of the people that in turn reflects the discovery by the US of a substitute for Travancore's product *coir*. Stevenson proposed a radical change in the educational system to provide vocational training instead of the present formalized and academic schooling. He sensed in the Travancore leaders a complacency concerning the Communist threat and felt that their analysis was somewhat superficial. His concern grew as he drove through village after village flying the Communist flag.

Fourteen miles from Trivandrum is the lovely beach of Kovilam. There, where you pay two *annas* to change clothes in a shack, Stevenson stripped and sunbathed on the sand. The village fishermen had no time to watch him, but their children stared long and hard at this human form prostrated before the sun—something unheard of in the scorching heat of Travancore. What was he doing, they asked? When they were told who he was, they asked further, was he the President? No, they were told; he was the defeated candidate. "Aha," cried the children, "Tell him not to mind; tell him we will vote for him next time."

* * *

Bombay, where Stevenson went next, was very different. There a starched conservative, the career US Consul General, kept him seeing the right sort of people—Nehru's opponents, the wealthy businessmen and their friends. One private conference with the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom caused widespread resentment since it was the only meeting Stevenson held. The resentment hurt Stevenson and the committee led by the courageous Minoo Musani. But the US Consul General was held to blame.

In Bombay, Stevenson spent his worst hour in India driving through the foulest red light district in the world. In this district, known as "The Cages" prostitutes peer out from behind bars and collect their fees before opening their prison-like doors. Stevenson, according to his companions, looked disgusted and unhappy. But it was wise to see India at its worst.

* * *

In a nation boiling with politics, the press plays a tremendously important role. The slightest mistake is seized on by hostile reporters, and every glimmer of understanding is welcomed by sensitive and friendly men. Stevenson himself was traveling as a journalist, and his self-interest in protecting his discoveries and conclusions for his own stories led him to avoid speeches and press conferences. Indians who suspected that he was muzzled by the State Department felt disappointed. Yet Stevenson learned every day to respect their sensitivities. He charmed the journalists of South India with engaging replies to their queries as to why he lost the 1952 elections. He spoke movingly in Travancore of the immense problems that confront India, and showed the deepest understanding in reminding Indians that his own nation was born in revolution and also endured great hardship. To men beset with doubts he declared "With confidence in your destiny and with vigor to reach it, your destiny will be all you expect it to be." He answered hotly the charge that Secretary Dulles feared peace. He added quickly that the United States had much to give India, and much to learn from India as well.

The most dramatic of all the meetings with the press was in Delhi where Stevenson faced the largest group of journalists that had gathered to question any visitor from overseas. They included several Communist Party journalists who baited him as they bait all their enemies. He retained at all times his calm and good humor.

The questions followed the usual line of India's suspicions and fears.

Q. "You said that aggression has been committed against the independent state of Laos. Do you consider Laos then to be independent?"

A. "Yes. It has been given some independence."

Q. "Would you favor a statement by the French that they will leave Indo-China when hostilities end?"

A. "I think it would be very helpful."

Q. "Is Attlee correct that there are elements in the US which do not want peace?"

A. "I've never heard of such elements. I would like their addresses."

Q. "Why are not the allies included in the truce talks?"

A. "If they wish to be included I would have no objection."

Q. "Do you regret having left the Korean issue out of your campaign?"

A. "Probably I made a mistake from the point of view of winning. From the point of view of my own satisfaction I don't think so."

Q. "Why is the US misunderstood abroad?"

A. "Perhaps because we are uninhibited in public

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debate and in the conduct of foreign affairs. That is a price you pay for freedom of speech. Also you may get the impression that the US wants to restore and defend the balance of power. We are in fact undertaking this necessary task, long carried out by Britain, because circumstances have forced the initiative upon us. We have not always been able to express the deeper purity of our motives."

Then Stevenson asked the journalists for their answers on why the US is misunderstood. They cried: "McCarthyism is the main factor!"

Q. "How much support," the journalists pressed, "has McCarthy in the US?"

A. "If you talk about his claimed goal of rooting out subversives, then he has widespread support for that goal. We have found disloyal persons in high places. But when it comes to his means, of guilt by association and irresponsible accusation, then I do not think he has wide support."

As an aside Stevenson remarked, "Off the record, I might say that that was a triumph of gentleness, tolerance, kindness, Christianity, Hinduism and whatever."

The conference went on. "Do you interpret India's foreign policy as neutrality?" (From the *NR*'s correspondent.)

A. "Not so much neutrality in the sense of indifference between tyranny and freedom as non-involvement, an anxiety to keep free of any conflict hot or cold."

Q. "What do you think of this foreign policy?"

A. "India is making its own foreign policy and any suggestions from me would be wholly gratuitous." (Murmurs of approval and delight.)

Q. "Can capitalism and Communism live together?"

A. "With Communism as an ideology—yes; with Communism as an expanding aggressive force—no."

Q. "Can recognition of Communist China follow immediately upon a Korean armistice?"

A. "That can only be determined in view of all the circumstances at the time. That it can follow immediately I doubt."

Q. "What about American underwriting of colonial regimes?"

A. "We have a long history of anti-colonialism. We won our freedom from Britain. . . . It is a great pity if we are misunderstood in this respect. It is not the American purpose to support colonialism."

Q. "When will America do something to substantiate that statement and prove to us that we are mistaken?"

A. "It may take four years!" (much laughter.)

The newspapers of the next morning showed the reaction of Indians to these views. They were highly favorable and enthusiastic on all points save two. They criticized his equivocation on Indo-China, and they were sharply critical of what they felt was a less than adequate rejection of McCarthyism.

* * *

The US Ambassador, George Allen, did not lend his sponsorship to the press conference. But on the morning before Stevenson's departure he presented his guest to 500 staff employees on the embassy lawn. With grace, he needs no introduction. If the 360 million Indians said, "The great and distinguished American here today had had a vote in our last election there would have been no doubt of the outcome. Sir, you are in solid Democratic territory!"

Stevenson looked up at the tent spread over the chancery veranda. "Standing under this canopy," he began, "I feel I should have arrived on an elephant. . . .

". . . The Ambassador's remarks have confirmed my impression that I should have run for office in this country. But I am loath to report that nobody in India has made that suggestion! . . . "

Nobody asked *him*—but Stevenson won many would-be voters in India. The left-wingers found their reasons for disapproving of him; but a much more representative comment was that of the Pan-Asia News Agency correspondent who remarked, "If he had toured India and talked to people for one month he would have done more than all the American aid."

Indians, of course, were prepared to like Stevenson, for they had followed the 1952 campaign with the greatest interest, and he had won their respect. He gained in stature because members of his party, partly at the urging of Chester Bowles, managed to break away from official engagements to meet with non-governmental leaders of all kinds. Stevenson did not appear, as many had hoped, as the independent spokesman of "liberal America." Instead he stood as a splendid example of intelligent, responsible American leadership. Aneurin Bevan, whose views and illusions coincide with those of the Indian intelligentsia, pandered to popular prejudices and left as a hero and a symbol. Stevenson made no effort, when he was talking, to excite a sympathetic emotional response, and he left neither a hero nor a symbol but a leader, greatly respected and admired. "He has really helped the atmosphere here during the elections," the Revenue Minister of Travancore confided to a friend; throughout India he added to the stature of the United States.

The countless masses of Indians liked him, and so did the one Indian who counts for most. Stevenson and Jawaharlal Nehru met three times and talked until midnight at the Prime Minister's home. Nehru responded to Stevenson's sensitivity and intellectual power. Stevenson felt that Nehru felt more kinship with America's

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outlook than Americans give him credit for or a hard-pressed nation can permit him to express. He sensed "a misty area" on some of Nehru's attitudes. He worried over what seemed to him to be Nehru's instinctive trust of the intentions of the Chinese Communists. He sensed the wide distinction drawn by Nehru between the aggressive ambitions of the Russians and the lack of aggressive ambitions in the rulers of Peking.

Finally, when the time for his departure arrived, Stevenson concluded that he had made more speeches in India than anywhere else on his trip. Smiling, he acknowledged that Indians are the most talkative people in the world and expect others to be equally talkative. Kashmir was a houseboat holiday. Other than that there was no rest for Stevenson from the moment of his arrival in India to the hour of his departure from the Delhi airport, for there a delegation of six kids from the local American school stood demanding an interview for their mimeographed bulletin. Stevenson surrendered. He told them Benares was the most interesting place he had ever seen, advised them to study Indian history and ways of living, and reminded them that, "The reason American Indians got their name was because Columbus started looking for these people and found us by mistake." After an awkward pause one interviewer, aged 10, asked, "Is there any further statement you would care to make?" Stevenson reflected, said, "India and America both stand for peace," and boarded his plane for Pakistan.

THE CARPETBAGGERS TAKE LOS ANGELES

by Mark Blackburn

Fellow citizens of Los Angeles, today you saw history made, the kind of history that may be referred to someday as a "black page." You saw a committee composed of out-of-state Congressmen come several thousand miles to our city in the midst of a local election and conduct a hearing designed to influence the outcome of that election.

Never before in history, as far as I can determine, has a committee of the United States Congress so demeaned itself as to take part in a local political situation in which it had no business and about which it knew nothing.

This, I warn you, is the kind of thing you must expect when a wealthy, powerful syndicate . . . decides that it is going to take over our city government, regardless of method or cost. – MAYOR FLETCHER BOWRON *of Los Angeles, May 19, 1953.*

ON JULY 1st, Los Angeles will install a new mayor. His name is Norris Poulson, a 57-year-old grandfather and former accountant, whom *Time* magazine recently described as "an undistinguished Congressman." He was elected over Mayor Fletcher Bowron by a margin of 34,448 votes out of a total 546,818 ballots cast.

It was a costly victory, one that will long be bitterly remembered by Los Angeles citizens because, as Bowron warned, it established a precedent of federal government interference in a local election. Until it actually happened, few people believed that the Administration in Washington would permit such a precedent, for both Poulson and Bowron were staunch Republicans. So when Clare Hoffman, the 77-year-old Republican extremist from Michigan, announced he was going to bring his Subcommittee on Government Operations to Los Angeles to pry into the slum clearance and public-housing program, nobody paid much heed. They did not know that in March, 1952, Hoffman had established his method of intervention when he scheduled a committee session to investigate CIO activities in Detroit just a few days before a local election.

Learning of Hoffman's plan, Speaker Joseph Martin of the House of Representatives advised Hoffman in 1952 that union members had a right to engage in politics and forced abandonment of the probe. Thus, when Hoffman announced he was going to start hearings in Los Angeles on the two-year long fight between the real-estate lobby and the federal housing authority over public-housing construction, those who remembered the record of the cantankerous old man were not greatly alarmed. But they were wrong.

Because of the acute need for slum clearance and low-cost housing in Los Angeles, Mayor Bowron had always actively sided with the housing authority; the real-estate lobby, however, was backed by a majority of the city council and in 1952 the lobby had poured thousands of dollars into a successful campaign to defeat the housing program at a public referendum.

As the campaign got underway early in May, it became clear that the slum clearance and public-housing program was to be a major issue, if not *the* major issue, of the campaign, and that Hoffman was determined to force his committee into the middle of an already explosive situation. The scheduled investigation could help only one candidate, Hoffman's fellow Congressman, Norris Poulson, and powerful pressure was being exerted to assure the committee's presence in Los Angeles.

Bowron supporters warned Hoffman and urged him to reschedule his investigation to follow the election. Democratic members of Congress tried to persuade him to defer his Los Angeles visit and finally, in caucus, voted to boycott the hearings. "It is highly indecent and sneaking to schedule a meeting in advance of an election," declared

Mark Blackburn is a pseudonym for an expert political writer in Los Angeles.

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Rep. John W. McCormack. "Democratic members will refuse to go." Even Poulson asked Hoffman to cancel his proposed Los Angeles invasion. When it became clear that decency and common sense would not prevail, Bowron delivered a radio attack against the Los Angeles *Times* and Hoffman. "This subcommittee of the Congress is coming here with one purpose only," said Bowron. "Not to get the facts. Not to be fair. Not to establish the truth. They are coming solely to influence a local election so as to permit a fellow member of Congress to become Mayor of Los Angeles.

"During all 20 years of Democratic control of the national government, there was never anything like this.

"Now, with a Republican Administration scarcely more than 100 days old, Los Angeles is to be the scene of a disgraceful political spectacle which will resound the length and breadth of the land."

From the traditionally quiet, dignified Bowron, a lifelong Republican, these were strong words. But they had no effect on the Representative from Michigan. On May 18, as scheduled, Hoffman and two other Republican members of the committee, Katharine St. George of New York and Jeffrey Hillelson of Missouri, held a closed hearing. One week before the election the hearing was opened to the public with both TV and press coverage.

This so-called investigation was a farce with Hoffman performing childishly for the TV audience. He, his two Republican friends and his committee attorney William F. McKenna, set out singly to exploit two issues. First, they claimed that federal employees had violated the Hatch Act by working for the defeat of a state ballot proposition concerned with public housing. Second, they dredged up the long-known fact that 10 Communists or pro-Communists had managed several years ago to obtain employment with the Housing Authority. The fact that this authority was an agency of the state of California, not the city of Los Angeles, was overlooked.

Under California law, contributions and the names of contributors to political campaigns must be submitted to the Secretary of State to become public record. So there was nothing new in the first issue raised by Hoffman. As for the suspected Communists, they had long since been fired from the Housing Authority. The State Un-American Activities Committee had in fact given the Housing Authority a clean bill of health, so there was nothing startling in the second of Hoffman's revelations. All this did not inhibit the Los Angeles *Times* and the Hearst press. They played the story big and bold on page one, carefully planting the words "Red" and "Communism" in headlines so that casual readers were left the impression that Hoffman was uncovering new and appalling threats to the US.

There was a real story in the attitude of the Los Angeles City Council toward the public-housing project it contracted to build. Knowing this Bowron dared the committee to make a real investigation. He pointed out that certain city councilmen, who had repeatedly voted for the housing program had suddenly and without explanation changed their vote after the program was well underway. Bowron proposed that Hoffman examine the influences which led these councilmen to seek to destroy a program whose value they had recognized. Bowron declared: "Since this change of mind did cost the government money and may still be costing us money, it seems to me that this committee will be shirking its responsibility if it fails to utilize this opportunity to discover and reveal the entire truth." The mayor said he offered his "every co-operation in making the suggested investigation, but frankly I don't think the committee dares to do it!"

Bowron was right. The committee, after warming over material available to it before it left Washington, prepared to shut up shop, its mission accomplished, without making a single constructive move.

Then Bowron appeared and asked to be heard. Hoffman reluctantly agreed. For the preceding half hour, the committee had listened graciously and encouragingly while Councilman John Holland, a bitter opponent of public housing, had told a rambling story about his views on the subject without interruption. Before Bowron had even been permitted to give his name, however, Hoffman warned him to limit himself strictly to testimony the committee wanted to hear.

For 15 minutes, the white-haired dignified mayor of America's third largest city attempted to tell his story. He was badgered, heckled, interrupted, shouted at and treated with utter disrespect. He never managed to say what he had come to say—that the rich real-estate lobby and the fickle councilmen had combined to thwart the housing program and that these people should be investigated. After his appearance, the Mayor described the hearing as "shoddy, raw and rigged for political purposes. . . . Such things as the conduct of this committee makes me wonder if we are really living in America."

And yet confusion and fear prevailed over reason and intelligence. The voters moved over to join the Michigan demagogue and his candidate, and defeated their four-term mayor. The Poulson administration in turn has very little chance of success when almost half of the citizens of Los Angeles firmly believe the election was won by a scheme that violates every American concept of fair play and justice. Informed and responsible residents realize that the city will suffer through the reckless sideshow staged here and the scars it has left.

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IKE'S LABOR LAW—"WORSE THAN TAFT-HARTLEY"

by Joseph E. Finley

WHEN THE labor committees of the 83rd Congress settled down to their business several weeks ago, there was some cautious optimism and a little wishful hoping by labor that something might be done about the Taft-Hartley Act. President Eisenhower's campaign speeches had pledged a "fair and just" labor law. The surprise appointment of Martin Durkin, who had consistently advocated repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, as Secretary of Labor was an even more encouraging sign. Publicly expressed attitudes of the new committee chairman, Representative Samuel K. O'Connell Jr. (R, Pa.) in the House, and Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R, N. J.) in the Senate, indicated that the GOP might be ready to treat labor unions with a new enlightenment.

Full-scale hearings on the Taft-Hartley Act were ordered in both houses and the committees went seriously to work. A parade of employer witnesses, with marked unanimity, presented the view that the major weakness of Taft-Hartley was that it didn't go far enough. During one week of Senate hearings, management representatives so strongly urged the complete outlawing of the union shop that Senator Taft was forced to rise in defense of labor rights. Careful, thorough attacks were made on the few court and NLRB decisions since 1947 favorable to unions. But the most urgent employer appeal to Congress was to give to the states new rights to regulate labor activities. Union spokesmen, again on the defensive, began to hint privately that perhaps the best they could expect was no change at all in Taft-Hartley.

Late in May, Senator Smith, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, released a new "bill," drafted for the committee's study, containing some 36 changes in the Taft-Hartley Act. The New Jersey Republican, while not formally introducing the measure, said it was a "working paper," which the New York *Times* called "closer to the thinking of the majority than anything yet introduced." Stunned union spokesmen are still reeling from this new Republican "fair and just" labor law.

Analysis of the 36 changes shows 23 new restrictions on union rights, of which at least eight are of serious and critical importance. Only five of the changes are concessions to union attacks upon Taft-Hartley, with two or three of them providing some measure of relief. Eight other changes are of more or less neutral impact, not seriously affecting the rights of any party.

Seven specific court and NLRB decisions favorable to labor have been overruled by painstaking draftsmanship. On the other hand, not one of the many harmful rulings unions have taken since 1947 has been touched.

But one proposal alone in the new "working paper" would harass unions far beyond anything contained in the present law. A new section is added to Taft-Hartley, allowing the states the right to regulate strikes and picketing, regardless of whether interstate commerce is involved. A second new section would further allow the states to "protect the health or safety of the people" in labor disputes.

Such a proposal to turn the states loose on labor disputes did not even have enough strength to reach the stage of a vote in the Taft-Hartley 80th Congress. When the suggestion was made during House debate in 1947 that state laws on labor matters should be allowed to govern, Rep. Francis Case (R, S. Dak.), now a member of the Senate, rose to argue that such a provision would "nullify much of the bill" that later became Taft-Hartley. But in 1953, the federal act, with all its restrictions, has become too "favorable" to unions when placed alongside some of the new state regulations.

One of the first principles in federal-state relations is that when Congress regulates matters in interstate commerce, the federal law must be supreme. This was settled by the Supreme Court as long ago as 1820 when Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington, nephew of the first President, ruled that to allow the states to regulate in a field occupied by the federal government would be a "novel and unconstitutional doctrine." But to avoid this doctrine, all Congress has to do is give away its supremacy to the states.

Since labor's only gains in the law since 1947 have been in the area of knocking down state laws because Taft-Hartley controlled the field of interstate relations, this new give-away cuts out the last protection against hostile state courts and legislatures. Employer representatives have already found that provincial state lawmakers are far more ready to hamstring unions than even the national Congress, particularly in states where unions are weakest and need protection the most.

Taft-Hartley's one experiment in giving the states power over union affairs has already been a marked success. A one-sided provision was passed in 1947 permitting the states to regulate union security (closed shop,

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union shop, maintenance of membership)—one-sided because when a state had a law allowing unions a better break than Taft-Hartley, the federal law would control; but when a state had a tougher union security law, then the Taft-Hartley Act would step aside and allow the state statute to govern.

Only one state had outlawed all forms of union security when Taft-Hartley flashed its green light. Twelve others promptly passed such acts, often known by the spurious title of "right-to-work laws." Similar bills have recently been introduced in a number of other legislatures.

State courts, too, have been free with injunctions against unions since 1947. Picketing not involving interstate commerce has been enjoined as contrary to the state's "public policy," with such public policy being declared by judges for the first time. Since the US Supreme Court has gradually whittled away the free speech protection of picketing, the last major restraint on the states has been the dominant authority of the Taft-Hartley Act. But the newest Republican give-away removes even that last barrier to state anti-labor laws.

If the new GOP labor proposals are enacted, state courts can break national strikes into 48 pieces by slapping injunctions on any picket line. The amendment to allow states to protect the health or safety of the people during labor disputes is an open invitation to state judges to find that almost any strike affects the public health and safety. Once these findings are made, labor will be helpless before the law.

In addition to the give-away to the states, the new Senate "bill" endeavors to pack the National Labor Relations Board. Two more members would be added to make a total of seven, no more than four of which may come from one political party. The term of office is increased to seven years, thus making it possible to put a Republican majority on the Board for the better part of the next decade. A powerful body of NLRB precedent could be built up in that period that could remove the last favorable interpretations from the law for labor.

Besides packing the NLRB, an entirely new independent agency is set up to prosecute all unfair labor practice charges and handle all procedures by which unions obtain representation of employees. This agency, called the Administrator of the National Labor Relations Act, would be headed by an Administrator similar to the present NLRB General Counsel. To give the Administrator a fresh, clean Republican look, the new Senate proposals would allow the firing of the great majority of NLRB personnel. Most of the present employees would be transferred to the Administrator, removing the civil service and veteran preference laws, and allowing him to sweep the board clean and bring in his own men. When that is done, the civil service and veteran preference laws would be promptly reinstated to give the "new team" the tenure it desires.

As a concession to forceful union criticisms of some of Taft-Hartley's other one-sided provisions, the new proposals would give unions three fairly helpful boosts. Unions operating in casual industries, like building and construction, would be allowed to make union-shop contracts even before the workmen were hired. The provision that President Eisenhower condemned in the last campaign as a "union-busting device," the denial of the right to vote in representation elections to men on strike, is removed from the law. And the despised mandatory injunction against unions (there are no mandatory injunction provisions against employers in the law), when secondary boycotts are alleged, is taken out of the Taft-Hartley Act.

But even this last concession is only a half-step. The new Administrator is given wide powers to seek injunctions against any party, union or employer, violating the law. A tough GOP Administrator like the former NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham could easily interpret some of the language in these new provisions to mean that injunctions should be used more often against labor.

Under Taft-Hartley's wide-sweeping secondary boycott provisions, attempts of unions to help their striking brethren were all but eliminated. But unions then began to negotiate contracts with employers that gave the union the right to refrain from working on non-union or struck goods. The NLRB and the courts upheld this contract over the protest of some employer groups. The new "bill" denies unions the right even to negotiate such a contract in the future, cutting from under them even this last opportunity for mutual assistance.

Some of the other anti-labor proposals released by Senator Smith make changes in the policy statement of the law, taking out language favorable to unions; toughen the so-called "featherbedding" restrictions; tightening up the anti-Communist provisions; eliminating labor's right to settle its own jurisdictional disputes free of NLRB control; giving employers new rights to lock-out; and placing more red-tape technicalities in the filing and registration provisions of the Act. And to add to the principal give-away to the states, the NLRB would be allowed to turn over jurisdiction at its discretion to state labor agencies.

All this prompted one labor official last week, who had found the new proposals upon study "worse than Taft-Hartley," to make the sardonic remark, "Whoever thought we might have to form a Committee to Defend the Taft-Hartley Act?"

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

ON STAGING YEATS' PLAYS

by Eric Bentley

THE ONLY plays of Yeats I have staged are *The Player Queen*, *The Words Upon the Window Pane*, and *Purgatory*, but they are enough to start a discussion with. And they are very different, one from another.

Studying *Player Queen*, you ask yourself, not how you can stage it well, but whether you can stage it at all. It contains much prose that is bad by any standard and especially bad as material for speaking and projecting in a theatre. Its story is not well-articulated and might not be very interesting even if it were. As for meaning, you realize that your audience won't know if there's supposed to be any. If you go ahead, it is partly from sheer faith (you feel that Yeats could not have put in years of work to no avail), partly because of a quality in the writing that is rather hard to define, though not, I believe, to feel: a sort of zany vitality. Anyone who considers the play a masterpiece would no doubt be shocked at a production that suggested Punch and Judy and Christmas Pantomimes, yet I confess my own assumption that, if the show didn't have the rough, fantastic life of these humble forms, it would have none at all. I also formed the opinion that Yeats had deceived himself when he thought he had got away from the local setting and had done well to do so. I sought to keep the play close to earth by emphatically Irish accents, props, costumes, and music. I even ventured to frame the play in a narration sung to an accordion by a beggar. He sat at the side of the stage and provided harp accompaniment to the songs. The tunes were taken from Irish folk music, particularly street ballads. The narration, for example, was all sung to "Finnegan's Wake," which proved an admirable tune for a dance at the end.

I suppose Yeats' plays stand outside ordinary categories, but if *Player Queen* can loosely be termed an extravaganza, *Window Pane* could be called a conversation piece, a drawing-room drama, even a naturalistic tragedy. Yeats disliked naturalism and was no good at it. Yet after a creakingly conversational opening, the play becomes notably, even showily, theatrical. It is perhaps the only play in which the puritanic Yeats invites the actor to virtuosity. It is also the only one that has its own virtuosity—of structure. The emotional center is a flash-back to the 18th century in the original form of voices speaking through a medium in the 20th. The primary dramatic contrast is between the medium's vision and the outlook of a modern skeptic, but the twist that makes the action ironic and effective is that the medium *is* a venal fake—and is destroyed by the voices from the past, which are not. Once you have done some bold cutting in the early part of the play and have found an actress capable of speaking not only as a spiritualist but as Swift and as Stella, your production problem is solved. One part, that of Corney Patterson, is so dismal a joke it should be cut. The others lend themselves to standard modern performance. The darkness, the hymn-singing, the trance, the presence of spirits are sure-fire melodrama.

As, in the frame of a seance, Yeats had presented the drama of Swift and Stella, and had related it to the history of modern intellect, so, in the frame of a haunted house, Yeats presents a domestic tragedy which symbolizes the decline of Ireland and perhaps the modern world generally. In both cases, *Window Pane* and *Purgatory*, the *donnée* is magic, and the general effect in the theatre that of a Gothic thriller. The drama of the director's position is that while he will *need* to exploit the thrilling element (to hold his audience), he will *want* to anchor the thrills in the sea of history, (not only to get some of Yeats' meaning across, but, stylistically, to balance the Gothic with the realistic, sensibility with sense). Inevitably, the necessity wins out over the wish. And the success the two plays had with our audiences never satisfied me; it seemed to have been won on false pretenses. I suppose it could satisfy those who think, with Eliot, that audiences, generally and legitimately, miss the main purport of great plays. Anyone else is bound to be worried at the way Yeats assumes that theatre can, generally and legitimately, be a private, not a public, art. Write on this assumption, and you do not get an audience of supermen—merely one of snobs, bluestockings, and bohemians. Which is precisely the audience O'Casey found at Yeats' house on Merrion Square when he went to see *At the Hawk's Well*. The moral he drew was fair enough:

> A play poetical to be worthy of the theatre must be able to withstand the terror of Ta Ra Ra Boom Dee Ay, as a blue sky, or an apple tree in bloom, withstand any ugliness around or beneath them.

I was always relieved when the applause after our Yeats' one-acter died down, and the curtain rose on a "regular play" by O'Casey or Synge.

It is also fair to add that the moral O'Casey drew he presumably learnt from Yeats, who had, so to say, invented the idea of an Irish national theatre, close to the soil and the people. The esotericism of Yeats' later plays is not the cause of his unpopularity in the theatre but the result. Or rather it was the result of the general failure of the Abbey, not merely on the cold welcome it always accorded the plays of Yeats.

In the midst of the fume, the fighting, the stench, the shouting, Yeats, as mad as the maddest there, pranced on the stage, shouting out his scorn, his contempt, his anger

On the occasion of the publication of THE COLLECTED PLAYS OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS (Macmillan; $5), Mr. Bentley writes of his experience in directing three of Yeats' plays for a group of Irish players drawn from the companies of the Abbey and Gate theatres.

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making him an aged Cuchulain . . . These words of O'Casey's record Yeats' anger at the Abbey's reception of *The Plough and the Stars*.

Purists will say that instead of trying to convert the theatre into a private institution Yeats should have given it up altogether. But life is impure. Yeats' anti-popular works contain more vitally "popular" elements than the plays he intended for a national theatre. The plays he wrote for drawing rooms have more theatre in them than the plays he wrote for the Abbey. They are not theatrical through and through. And their omissions suggest a dramatist dead on one side. (Where is the plot? Where are the characters?) But this is an age, as Francis Fergusson has reminded us, of partial perspectives. A dramatist who is *alive* on one side is a rare enough bird. In *Purgatory*, Yeats' last play (if we take *The Death of Cuchulain* as an epilogue to the Cuchulain plays), he has arrived at a style of dramatic utterance superior to anything he had written in his life before and therefore inferior to nothing in modern English drama. If, from one viewpoint, the little play is anti-theatrical, from the professional viewpoint it is pure theatre—a play, not to produce, but to act. And it calls for pure acting—not the burlesque technique that is required for *Player Queen* or the virtuosity demanded of the leading role in *Window Pane* but the speaking of great words and the discovery of the positions, moves, and gestures that go with them.

THE EASTERN HOPE

NORTH FROM MALAYA, by William O. Douglas (Doubleday; $3.95).

THERE IS a type of mind to which the very name of Mr. Justice Douglas is as a red rag is to a bull, which means that this book will not be read by the very persons who have most need to read it, to wit, the unreasonable. Reasonable people had already inferred from circumstantial evidence a large part of what Justice Douglas now reports from first-hand observation buttressed by documentary evidence, so to the reasonable the book is for the most part corroborative testimony.

Candid observers realized long ago that the mess in Southeast Asia is the logical outgrowth of old-style imperialism surviving into a century that is beyond that phase of development. What Douglas contributes is a detailed explanation of the process of disintegration and a persuasive estimate of its extent. Here is one reader to whom the estimate is less discouraging than was to be expected. Communism has made appalling gains in that region, but if this observer is right there are counter-revolutionary forces of high potentiality that skillful statecraft might bring into the field against Russian imperialism.

Rather surprisingly, Mr. Douglas finds the key to the situation in Burma. He is convinced that Burmese Communism is on its way out, checked by force of arms, but finally defeated not by the military but by the social scientists put into the field by a sanely liberal political regime.

At the same time, he warns that the Burmese polity is no panacea, because Burma has escaped the worst handicap under which other regions labor, an inordinate pressure of population upon the food supply. Her problem was simpler than that of Indo-China, Formosa and Red China itself; yet it was formidable enough to make its solution an excellent guide in dealing with political and economic tangles elsewhere.

The basic difficulty, of course, is nothing else than the universal handicap upon good government that has to be fought in Baltimore and St. Louis as incessantly as in Rangoon and Hanoi, namely, the blind stupidity of human greed. But if the British, Dutch and French imperialists over-reached themselves in the past, the Chinese imperialists are in the act of over-reaching themselves now; which, if it does not quite open the door, at least sets it ajar for the entrance of a rational system.

Mr. Douglas is not convinced that China is irreparably lost to Russian imperialism. He apparently believes that China was trapped into the Korean adventure by Muscovite skill assisted by our political blunder in surging up to the Yalu river. Russia had been insisting that Peking was the real American objective from the start; but Red China did not quite believe it as long as we were merely throwing the North Koreans out of South Korea. Only when MacArthur burst across the Thirty-Eighth parallel and headed for the Yalu did China decide that the Russians were right and unleashed her armies.

It will be hard to repair that blunder, but this observer thinks it not impossible. Appeasement will not do it, nor will all-out war, but completely honest, yet careful, negotiation might. Mr. Douglas on this point has a passage too closely-reasoned to be summarized, but the basis of it is recognition not of Red China but of the facts of life, one of which is the existence of Red China.

An interesting section of the work deals with Chiang Kai-shek, on whom Douglas is astonishingly easy. He declares flatly that our White Paper of 1949 was too rough on the moral deficiencies of the Kuomintang that included, along with the crooks and grafters, a great many honest and decent men. But he adds that their failure was political ineptitude, which is more certainly fatal than dishonesty. The Chiang regime is hopeless because it is a regime of old men clinging to ideas that are obsolete.

Syngman Rhee, our pet Korean, in Douglas' opinion was once a great patriot, but there is much doubt that he remains anything of the kind. His prestige is still high among the peasants of South Korea, but one gathers that among the more intelligent groups doubts are multiplying fast. Rhee confesses to 78 years and is probably older; he has grown increasingly crabbed, dictatorial and ruthless in his old age and is becoming an embarrassment to his allies.

All in all, *North From Malaya* cannot be described as a blithely optimistic book—significant, when one remembers that Mr. Justice Douglas is an almost pathologically optimistic man. But it is patently an honest appraisal, it is lucidly written, and it is convincing. The average reader will find that it throws a flood of light on a confused and obscure situation; and since we are compelled to deal with that situation it is a public duty to learn all we can about it. In this instance learning is pleasant since the book is highly readable. It is not merely important, it is very important.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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ON ORGANIC POETRY

THE TRUE VOICE OF FEELING, by Herbert Read (Pantheon; $4).

THERE IS A CONSISTENCY about Herbert Read's critical writings whether his subject be verse-forms, painting and sculpture, the art of primitives and children, or the borderline country between esthetics and psychology, or esthetics and the biological sciences. The unifying principle is the Romantic view of the Imagination, as a creative principle akin to "the world's holy, eternally creating primal energy, which engenders and actively brings forth all things out of itself. The foregoing principle [that art should imitate nature] would be of high significance if it admonished art to emulate this creating energy." This quotation is taken from Schelling's essay concerning the relation of the plastic arts to nature, which is the inspiration of Coleridge's theory of the imagination, and the whole tradition of thought that springs from it. In upholding this tradition, Herbert Read has for twenty years stood almost alone, though now indeed it seems that the tide has turned towards the romantic view of the nature of poetry.

The present essays trace the discovery and evolution of "organic form" in English poetry. Mr. Read believes it to be the "specific form of modern poetry," in so far as "this poetry is specifically modern." But he suggests "that what is specifically modern about our poetry is not the form as such, but rather a realization that form is the natural effect of the poet's integrity." The alternative view of the arts, as rhetoric, came to Europe with the Revival of Learning: then rhetoric was "literature conceived as a game," and to conform to the rules "a writer must use and elaborate certain fixed forms, with the object of exhibiting his skill. There was never any question of faithfully expressing the rhetor's feelings, never any question of sincerity." Herbert Read concludes,

> that it was not merely a new phase of literature that began with the Romantic Movement in Europe, but a new and immensely more vital and interesting conception of literature itself. Poetry ceased to be a game; it became a mode of apprehension, an effort of consciousness.

Herbert Read's best critical work has always been written at the center of his field of thought, on those two great complementary minds, Wordsworth and Coleridge and their context, rather than at the ever widening circumference that has taken in so bewilderingly much, and will always, we may be sure, continue to expand. This value contains the essence of the critical thought that was first stated in *Form in Modern Poetry*. There is an affinity of mind between Herbert Read, Coleridge and Wordsworth, particularly, I would say with Wordsworth, on whom no critic has written better. Both possess that "philosophical faith" whose "singular distinction is its centrality and traditional validity." The tradition is that which first became defined in Kant's philosophy, and that stream

> continued to flow however irregularly through the minds of Schelling, Coleridge, Kierkegard, Hegel, Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger, divided by a watershed from the contrary stream to which we can attach the names of Locke, Condillac, Hartley, Bentham, Marx and Lenin.

It is essential that we remember "Wordsworth was a philosophical poet, not a poetical philosopher," and of this distinction, although his own mind tends to metaphysical abstraction—Herbert Read never loses sight: all art is a creation of *form*. "The romantic principle asserts that form is an organic, event, proceeding from the intuitive experience of the artist . . . such a spontaneously emergent *form* must be sharply distinguished from a superinduced *shape*." The organic is not to be confused with the chaotic. Whitman and D. H. Lawrence, for example, he excludes from the mainstream of organic form because both (Lawrence explicitly) claimed for Free Verse an absolute freedom of structure, that is the very antithesis of the view that imagination is the formative principle in all art. ("Nature has no outline but Imagination has" as William Blake wrote.) Both these poets, while rejecting "shape as superimposed" did not admit "form as proceeding," a distinction not sufficiently recognised by critics and poets who have never experienced that organic order to which imaginative creation is subject, an order that cannot be defined, though it must be obeyed, because its source lies beyond the known and the knowable of normal consciousness. Every passion has, as Coleridge said, "its proper pulse"; and Herbert Read has an unfailing sense of this pulse. His surest writing is on metrics. He finds the organic sense of metre in the freely varied ballad metre of *The Ancient Mariner*; in Wordsworth's blank verse ("blank verse is virtually free verse, and precisely at its most poetic, is most irregular"); in Hopkins' sprung rhythm; in T. E. Hulme and the Imagists, in Ezra Pound, and in T. S. Eliot's long search for "sincerity of *poetic* utterance: a long disciplined effort to avoid the artificiality of rhetoric" and to extend the Imagist experiments.

On the genesis of image and symbol Herbert Read has less to say, though the same principle would obviously be applicable. His omissions are interesting—Blake and Yeats, the great Symbolists; and although a long essay is entitled "In Defense of Shelley" the final impression is extremely ambiguous. Shelley's metrics are not particularly "organic"; and Herbert Read, whose sympathy with Shelley's temperament and ideas is unmistakable, enters upon a long, interesting, but perhaps irrelevant digression into an analysis of Shelley's psychological type. Had he examined Shelley's symbolism (Professor I. A. Richards has recently done interesting work on this) he would have found the organic principle powerfully at work. Byron, however, he rightly excludes from the mainstream: Byron's attitude to verse-making was entirely classical; and although he possessed the "romantic afflatus" he had no conception of a poetry reflecting a correspondence between form and feeling. In this sense, "there is more essential discipline in one of Wordsworth's sonnets than in the whole of Byron's work"—for the only true discipline of the poet is that imposed by the "innermost energies of the mind and spirit, which we term inspiration." For this highest conception of the imagination, Herbert Read has spoken in his generation, at a time when few, even among the poets themseves, have kept faith with that hidden and vital source.

KATHLEEN RAINE

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EROSION OF PRINCIPLES

HERESY, YES—CONSPIRACY, NO, by Sidney Hook (John Day; $3.75).

PROFESSOR HOOK'S purpose is to show how civil liberty, and more especially academic freedom, can be defended against the current wave of "cultural vigilantism." His main argument is that liberals have laid themselves open to attack by failing to recognize that the right to advocate unpopular opinions does not include a right to join a conspiratorial movement directed by a foreign government and seeking to overthrow democratic institutions. American colleges should regard Communist party membership as a violation of professional ethics and should themselves prohibit members from holding academic positions. As long as they fail to take such action, they have only themselves to blame if they are attacked by irresponsible politicians. Professor Hook's numerous critics will be reassured to find that he is against loyalty oaths and the Feinberg Law, recognizes that an undiscriminating application of "guilt by association" has caused serious injustices, would like to amend the Smith Act by making advocacy of revolution illegal only when the danger is clear and present, urges that all investigations of persons accused of Communism be conducted in private, and condemns Senator McCarthy.

Professor Hook disagrees with the people whom he calls "ritualistic liberals" chiefly in arguing that "admitted Communist membership" should be considered "*prima facie* evidence of unfitness to teach" (though he adds that this should not "*automatically* lead to dismissal without further consideration of the case"). He shows irrefutably that a party member (as distinct from a mere sympathizer) has forfeited his intellectual freedom and is required by party discipline to indoctrinate his students. The "ritualistic liberals," entrenched in the American Association of University Professors, have shown an unpardonable ignorance of Communist methods and have failed to learn the most obvious lesson of the past thirty years of world history; namely, that groups working actively to destroy the civil liberties of everybody else should not be regarded as having a right to liberty for themselves (although, on the analogy of the parable of the tares, it may often be expedient not to interfere with them). Professor Hook is right, moreover, in stigmatizing as dangerous nonsense recent statements by Bertrand Russell and others that the United States is suffering from a reign of terror in which free speech has been abolished. As he correctly points out,

> today there is more vigorous opposition on the part of teachers to arbitrary action by legislatures and boards of trustees than ever before in the history of American education.

Yet even though nearly everything that Professor Hook says is convincing, it must be added that he shows a most disturbing reluctance to tackle the issues presented by the current hysteria. We may grant that "admitted Communist membership" should be grounds for dismissal; but how many college professors ever have made, or would make, such an admission? At the present day they are being dismissed for pleading the Fifth Amendment and refusing to testify to congressional committees; this very dubious procedure raises problems which Professor Hook does not even discuss. Even if we assume, moreover, that all such persons are, or were, party members, it should be added that this is a case of retroactive guilt, since membership has never been declared contrary to the laws of the United States nor have most colleges ever explicitly made it a disqualification for tenure. The most alarming feature of the present situation is the erosion of the traditional principle that a man is innocent until proved guilty of a legal offense. To maintain this principle is much more important than to weed out every Communist from college faculties; and if it is surrendered, then all liberalism will be without defense against the cultural vigilantes. Precautions which would be justifiable with appointments to the State Department or the Atomic Energy Commission cannot be applied to colleges without destroying the whole atmosphere of free inquiry. Nor is there any pressing need to purify American education. Communism was a powerful force in intellectual life in the 1930's, though more because of the increase of muddle-headed fellow-travellers than of party members; it has long since become a negligible influence as a result of processes not of legal repression but of public debate and enlightenment. If the colleges are now being investigated, it is not at all, as Professor Hook implies, because of their own failure to clean house; it is because reactionary demagogues have exploited the Communist issue for their own sinister purposes.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES

A PUGNACIOUS PAINTER

THE MAN WHISTLER, by Hesketh Pearson (Harper; $3.75).

HESKETH PEARSON has written a lively and amusing book about Whistler, but it is more a collection of anecdotes than a true biography. Whistler, of course, lends himself admirably to this procedure, since he spent a good part of his life holding the attention of his time by *bon mots*, pranks and sometimes unpleasant exhibitions of egotistic belligerency. His famous law-suit against Ruskin, after the latter had harshly criticized one of his pictures, brought him into the public eye in a way that his paintings had never done. And he maintained this position, as he put it himself, by cultivating the *Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (the title of his book devoted to his many battles with the hydra-headed monster of criticism).

Mr. Pearson has culled the best stories from the considerable literature on Whistler and arranged them in roughly chronological order. And from time to time, we even catch a glimpse of Whistler as a dedicated artist and an instinctively generous nature. But Mr. Pearson does not pretend to be writing a book about Whistler the artist, and there is nothing colorful or flamboyant about simple human kindness. Nor does Mr. Pearson make any real effort to explain Whistler's turbulent dandyism and hectic self-aggrandizement.

I do not wish to seem unduly portentous, and to criticize Mr. Pearson for not writing the kind of book he had no intention of writing. He is a skillful craftsman who knows exactly what his audience wants (some gay gossip about an interesting personality), and who

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makes a tidy income by satisfying this far from criminal public demand. At the same time, I think there is no harm in pointing out that biography is (or should be) more than a collection of funny stories, strung together on a thin thread of amiable generalities about human nature. Whistler was more than a buffoon, and he deserves better than this. JOSEPH FRANK

FOUR SPRING NOVELS

THE RETURN OF LANNY BUDD, by Upton Sinclair (Viking; $4). FAR FROM THE CUSTOMARY SKIES, by Warren Eyster (Random House; $3.75). CORPUS OF JOE BAILEY, by Oakley Hall (Viking; $4.50). AMOS BERRY, by Allan Seager (Simon and Schuster; $3.95).

UPTON SINCLAIR'S eleventh book about Lanny Budd is full of good will, good history, and bad writing. The many I hope will read it can gain from it a better knowledge of what caused the Cold War and what has caused it to continue. This probable many will participate painlessly and pleasantly in meetings with Truman, Masaryk, and Reuter; be there at the French General Strike, get tortured in East Germany, help found the Free University of Berlin. They will not learn that Roosevelt was a knave who created our bad present (we were *all* taken in by Stalin, Superbudd says) nor will they come away thinking the Soviets were always and irretrievably bad or that socialism is forever impossible. They will come away from *The Return of Lanny Budd* believing that anyone can be reclaimed, that it is desirable to be a kind, though militant, Christian.

After saying so much and realizing how many Mr. Sinclair will reach that the more praised novelists and publicists will not, it seems ungrateful to dwell upon his failure to create character, his stilted dialogue, and his inability to avoid clichés or phrase anything memorably. One must honor this man whose heart has always been placed properly, whose mind has usually acted both more vigorously and more wisely than ours have. If one construes the novel to be a medium for conveying emotion as well as information; if one thinks the novel should present arranged action rather than action that merely unfolds, *The Return of Lanny Budd* is not a good piece of fiction. But it is information intelligently interpreted and made palatable for the multitude who don't give a damn about art. Mr. Sinclair is a better informed and wiser John Gunther who knows how to make the people who never heard of Henry James take stock of themselves and begin to understand the times in which they live.

Warren Eyster's *Far from the Customary Skies* is better constructed and better written than *The Return of Lanny Budd*. Such characters as Malone, a Hitler (or does one say Stalin nowadays?), as Polock, the teller of sexy stories that keep him and the other men happy, and Ham, the ugly intellectual, are memorably and believably developed. The detail of life on the destroyer, Dreher, is realized almost as vividly as it was in Marcus Goodrich's excellent and recently revived *Delilah*. Such scenes as the one when the ship's boat cuts away the oil casks that are to help Japanese gunners find the destroyer's range and the one when Japanese prisoners are taken, are vivid and illuminating.

Still this is not a novel that fulfills as much as it promises. Grant both Mr. Eyster's ability and his honesty; nevertheless one must state that his adaptation of the technique of *Three Soldiers* and Manhattan Transfer creates diffusion rather than intensity, that the novel often becomes dull because it frequently parrots a badly edited newsreel, that it impresses most usually by its surface accuracy, rarely by its depth. Mr. Eyster too much resembles the ancestors he has absorbed incompletely, too little what he may be himself and may learn to present with both an original technique and an original insight. The incomplete achievement of *Far from the Customary Skies* deserves measured praise and leads one to hope that Mr. Eyster's capacity to grow will make his later work as much better than his first novel as *Three Soldiers* was better than *One Man's Initiation*.

Oakley Hall's second novel (I did not read his first one) is touted quite as highly as *Far from the Customary Skies*. His publishers call *Corpus of Joe Bailey* an "impressive novel" that "has the emotional impact of a brilliantly incisive documentary" and quote approvingly Ray B. West Jr.'s statement that "Joe Bailey is the Tom Jones of the twentieth century."

Since I generally respect Mr. West's judgment, I report somewhat diffidently that I find *Corpus of Joe Bailey* well-written, well-plotted, and only mildly interesting. Joe Bailey is far more plausible than Lanny Budd. There are lots like him who early determine they have to rise from the bottom by ruthlessness and who have a rough time realizing how much their continuing preoccupation with a childhood sweetheart depends upon their own imagination and makes difficult their rise towards the top. There are also many pathetic misfits like Con—Joe's girl—Peter, the almost homosexual, and Laura Lee, the reluctant Lesbian. And the detail about the preoccupations of unextraordinary people who counterpoint the less usual central figures is as accurate as an analyst's case history of those whose neuroses are mild.

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But Joe Bailey and the others are not explained sociologically as well as the characters in *Studs Lonigan* or psychologically as well as those in *You Can't Go Home Again*. The characters' problems are dramatized plausibly, but the reader is only occasionally moved deeply; usually the understanding is merely intellectual. Better than most of the current best sellers, *Corpus of Joe Bailey* is not as good as many of the commendable books that sell moderately well and are remembered only briefly.

Although Allan Seager's *Amos Berry* does not have the valid popular appeal of Mr. Sinclair's novel nor the obvious attractiveness of a novel that presents World War II or a contemporary Tom Jones, I believe it deserves and will get both longer remembrance and (ultimately) greater sales. *Amos Berry* is Mr. Seager's third novel and a marked improvement over his promising first book, *Equinox*, which shocked rather more than it illuminated. Its substance—the understandable and undiscovered murder of a man who has developed the modern mania for making humanity abstract into an unfine art— is quite as startling as the incest Mr. Seager dramatized in *Equinox*, but there is nothing sensational about his treatment of this important modern dilemma.

Amos Berry is a sensitive Babbitt presented with an artistry Sinclair Lewis never learned to command. He is hag-and-job-ridden, hates the way modern life reduces men to integers and slaves, prevents the development of their potential humanity. Desperate because he can neither affirm himself nor see others who can, he kills the employer who epitomizes the deniers of those who are less manipulable than multiplication tables. Never suspected because he is both successful and apparently a conformist, Amos tries to live the simple life, but he can not emulate Thoreau. All the rows of his corn grow crooked and he commits suicide in a second desperate gesture.

The plot, as you see, is almost as melodramatic as that of his earlier novel, as that of *The Outsider* or of *Hamlet*, yet the sensational is played down rather than up. The writing is consistently vivid, the management of plot and of shifts backwards and forwards in time superlatively good. Of course, there are imperfections—particularly in the long discourse about modern times as a consequence of the philosophy of Descartes and in the excessive proportion of space devoted to Amos Berry's son's private affairs. Still, if Babbitt was a good novel, this is a better one; if the Lanny Budd novels have a wide interest, *Amos Berry* has a deep interest; if *Far from the Customary Skies* and *Corpus of Joe Bailey* tell truly, Mr. Seager's novel goes beyond true telling. Mr. Seager sees more profoundly and writes more excitingly than Lewis or these others—though he may be less noticed because he comes thirty years after the man from Main Street drove a word into our language.

HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

The *NR* review (May 18) of PSYCHOLOGY AND ALCHEMY, by Dr. C. G. Jung (Bollingen Series—Pantheon; $5) regretably preceded the June 19 publication of that book.

THE EDITORS.

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THROWN TO THE LIONS

by Theodore Hoffman

BERNARD SHAW has been dead only two years, but in producing *Androcles and the Lion* his motion picture executor has already managed to make a public travesty of his work. While Shaw was alive and kicking, Gabriel Pascal kept faith. *Pygmalion* and *Major Barbara* were respectable enough adaptations. The skeletal Shavian wit and thesis could still be seen through the glittering luxury of *Caesar and Cleopatra*. But now Pascal has thrown Shaw to the lions of RKO.

A particularly mawkish and deadening touch was required to eliminate Shaw from *Androcles* while retaining most of his dialogue, but Pascal (and his writer-director, Chester Erskine) have actually succeeded in converting Shaw's play into the sort of trash he meant to attack. As a critic of the 'nineties, Shaw constantly ridiculed the sentimental religious spectacle, especially Wilson Barrett's biblical pot-boiler, *The Sign of the Cross*. Pascal and Erskine apparently have taken their cue from the pious extravaganza Cecil B. DeMille based on that play and have stuck to it religiously.

Shaw's Romans are conventional governmental officials, committed to suppressing the Christians as cranks who threaten law and order. His Christians are a group of confused zealots and misfits bound together more through persecution than a real understanding of Christ's view of life. In Pascal's sugary debacle the Christians act like a bunch of college kids, full of charming quirks, but pulling together with the old school spirit for the big game. The Romans, of course, are the decadent rich boys with the subsidized team, but quite redeemable at heart since all they want is a good time, just like everybody.

The desired effect of ponderous cheerfulness is achieved by artfully shifting Shaw's characterizations. Is Lavinia a "clever and fearless freethinker?" No. She is the love interest and falls for the other team's Captain. During the more abstruse argument of Shaw's intellectual duel of the sexes our eyes are directed to the bucklered chest of Victor Mature and the delicatly wrought breastwork of Jean Simmons. Deep breathing

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exercises are inserted between the lines and ideological impasses are resolved with The Clinch. Is Ferrovius a "conscience ridden Pauline," who comes to realize that his true God is Mars? No. As Robert Newton, he's the good hearted fullback whose strength saves the day when philosophy fails. Is Alan Young's Androcles a "humanitarian naturalist?" No. He's a Disney-like nitwit, the splay footed substitute quarterback who stumbles into the winning touchdown. Is Spintho a "blackguardly debauchee," one of the "typical Christians . . . of St. Augustine?" Heavens, no! He's the campus cheat who gets caught selling the signals to the other side.

The Romans invite an even more ingenious treatment. They are a bunch of effete fancy-pants. Maurice Evans, as Caesar, minces through a second rate imitation of Bobby Clark and occasionally tosses in a lisp for good measure. The Coliseum shots of the decadent populace feature a Greenwich Village hipster pair gazing lasciviously with marihuana eyes, a couple of horse faced women clutching each other rapturously, and hordes of painted and bedizened fleshpots. The Vestal Virgins are out of Atlantic City by the Marquis de Sade. The scenery has that soggy, shined up look of bad baroque painting.

Somewhere along the line the producers decided to get Shaw's ideas across by adding a character, a censorious schemer named Cato whose job is to dig up victims for the witch hunt. They apparently read Shaw's note on *Androcles* (naturally skipping the over-long Preface) and concluded that Shaw thought the Christians were peace loving innocents wrongly accused of subversive activities. In the end, Cato comes a cropper. Cheek turning, the love of animals, and Ferrovius' errant mayhem show Caesar the value of civil liberties and persuade him to make the happy life of imperial debauchery available to all.

It is unlikely, however, that Senator McCarthy or the American Legion will notice this, what will all the sex, gore, and hymn singing. Pascal actually proves only two things: that Shaw knew what he was doing in living so long, and that direct communication from the dead is impossible.

PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT

FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT FEAR, by Vera Micheles Dean (McGraw-Hill; $3.75).

THE RESEARCH DIRECTOR of the Foreign Policy Association has, in a well written and well organized book, developed the principles which President Eisenhower laid down as the basis of American foreign policy in his two great speeches this Spring. Yet this thoughtful book was written before President Eisenhower made the speeches, and above all before Stalin's death and before the new active peace policy of his successors revealed the weaknesses in the outwardly so aggressive and frightening structure of Communist world imperialism. There are many wise counsels in the book, which the American people may heed.

Perhaps in some points even Mrs. Dean is too "fearful" and seems to underestimate the strength of our position. Have the Communists really learned how to speak with the masses in Europe? Perhaps with the masses in France and Italy, but certainly not with the masses in Britain and Scandinavia, in Germany and Switzerland. Nor is the participation of labor or farm organizations in this country's domestic and foreign policy inferior to that in European countries. As regards social well-being and equality, America and not the countries of Europe have performed a great social revolution, a truly permanent revolution, with which the more advanced European countries like Britain or Scandinavia are now catching up. If we do not pursue utopian aims of perfection in our foreign policy, then we have developed, as Mrs. Dean so well says, a good foundation for a "foreign policy without fear," a policy vigilant against the alternatively more or less virulent dangers of Soviet imperialism and of fascist nationalism, which both equally reject the foundation of modern Western civilization; closely united in purpose and action with the peoples which share; and patient and restrained, in the consciousness of our strength, in our dealing with all other nations. Fear and panic are poor guides in foreign policy as in any other field of human constructive action.

HANS KOHN

THE 1952-1953 SEASON

THE FOLLOWING is a list of the shows and show people that stand out most clearly in the memory of the NR drama critic. The order under each heading is alphabetical.

NEW AMERICAN PLAYS: *Camino Real, The Crucible, Picnic.*

IMPORTS: *The Emperor's Clothes, The Gambler, My Three Angels.*

MUSICALS: *Can Can, Me and Juliet, Wonderful Time.*

REVIVALS: *Misalliance, Porgy and Bess, Regina.*

OFF-BROADWAY PRODUCTIONS: *The Plough and the Stars, The Screen* (Parker Tyler), *Widowers' Houses.*

FEMALE PROTAGONISTS: Shirley Booth, Bea Lillie, Rosalind Russell.

MALE PROTAGONISTS: Lee Cobb, Alfred Drake (*The Gambler*), Walter Slezak, Emlyn Williams.

OTHER LEAD PLAYERS: Cab Calloway, Joan McCracken, Beatrice Straight, Eli Wallach.

OTHER PLAYERS: Priscilla Gillette, E. G. Marshall (*The Gambler*), Roddy McDowell, Arthur O'Connell, Anthony Ross, Kim Stanley, David Stewart, Gwen Verdon, Ray Walston, Jack Whiting.

DIRECTORS: George Abbott, Harold Clurman, Joshua Logan, Elia Kazan.

CHOREOGRAPHER: Michael Kidd.

COMPOSER: Leonard Bernstein.

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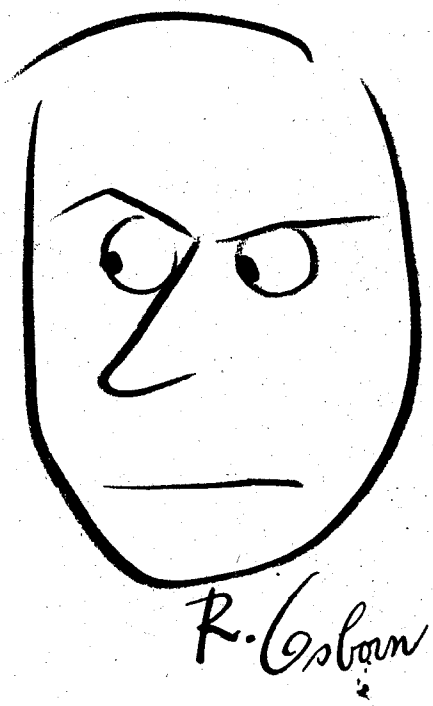
(that "eerie feeling")



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RICHARD ROVERE
Harper's Magazine—June, 1953

We share Mr. Rovere's feeling, but are glad to report that in the *New Republic*, at least, there has been and will be no "blackout" of information or liberal comment.

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